1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

But

no amount of good advice will prepare a youth for hunting and raiding unless he reaches a high point of physical fitness. At first it is the members of the immediate family who urge the boy to undertake special exercises. Such pressure begins when the boy is anywhere from eight to twelve years old, depending on his size and the attitudes of the members of his family.

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Now the next thing [after learning to hunt] was getting up before daylight. My father said, "Be up; be up before daylight and run up the mountain. Run to the top of that mountain and back before daylight. You must do it, and I'm going to make you do it. It will be better for you to do it in your own way, but if you don't, I'll force you to do it."

I asked, "What if the clown should see me? Is he everywhere?"

"My son, that time the clown frightened you it was only I dressed up. You were a little boy at that time. You would not obey. There is nothing to be afraid of. That is the way little children are made to mind. Now you are big enough to handle a bow and arrows. Now I am going to train you so that when you get to be a few years older you will be almost as good as any man. Your mind will be well developed. Your legs will be developed so nobody can outrun you. You will be able to keep up with others when you are running long distances. Getting up early in the morning, running to the top of that hill and back will give you a strong mind, a strong heart, and a strong body."

Physical fitness is considered by some parents even more vital for survival than the assistance of relatives.

If my son is strong, when he is about eight or ten years old I must give him his lesson. It's like breaking in a mule. . . . . He must get up before sunrise.

The father talks to his son. "My son, you know no one will help you in this world. You must do something. You run to that mountain and come back. That will make you strong. My son, you know no one is your friend, not even your sister, your father, or your mother. Your legs are your friends; your brain is your friend; your eyesight is your friend; your hair is your friend; your hands are your friends; you must do something with them. When you grow up you live with these things and think about it.

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"Some day you will be with people who are starving. You will have to get something for them. If you go somewhere, you must beat the enemy who are attacking you before they get over the hill [i.e., escape]. Before they beat you, you must get in front of them [i.e., beat them] and bring them back dead. Then all the people will be proud of you. Then you are the only man. Then all the people will talk about you. That is why I talk to you in this way. If you do all these things and you stay among the people, they will all like you—your brother, your sister, your uncle. All the camps will talk about you. They will call my name and say my son is fine and does good work. Then we will be proud of you. If you are lazy, the people will hate you."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

866 868 857 526 751 Soon the boy is requested to care for the horses. He is told that he should carry a pack on his back while he is running. To prove his endurance, he may be ordered to stay awake continuously for a day and a night or even longer. An inevitable incident of this training period is the icy morning plunge.

There was a creek deep enough for a boy to jump in. In the fall of the year the water was frozen a little. The creek was about a mile away. My father said, "Son, get up, and before you build a fire, take everything off except your breechcloth, run to that creek, and jump in the water. If the ice is thin enough, you jump in so it will not cut you. Go ahead! Jump in!"

Many boys used to put water on their heads and make believe they had jumped in. And some of the boys used to throw water over themselves before they went in, but their parents would find it out. If a boy wouldn't do it, his [861] father would get a whip, call the boy to him, and say, "You go over and jump in!" So the boy would go to escape a whipping.

Afterward we would come back soaking wet, but we were not allowed to come up to the fire. We just had to take a covering and wrap it around ourselves.

868 865 857 526 751 Nor does this exhaust the ingenuity of those in charge of the boy:

There is a small tree. My father takes me out there. He says, "Fight that tree!" I go over there and hit the tree with both hands. Perhaps it hurts and I will have sore hands the next day. Then there is a tree with a limb about as big as my arm sticking out just about high enough for me to jump and catch it. My father says, "Break that limb." And he is standing there watching me fight it. Some limbs are pretty hard to break, but he is going to stand there until I break it.

A variation of this type of strenuous exercise is to have the boy uproot small trees or pull long poles from the ground.

868 857 526 One of the devices of winter training is to send the boy out early in the morning to roll a ball of snow. He is told to push it until he is called.

868 857 866 As the youth progresses in his training, guard and scout duties fall to his lot:

If older men are going away, they leave a young man to watch camp and guard the women and children. They say to him, "Camp up high. Get up early. Go up on a hill and watch. Go out and hide in the brush and look for tracks." That's what they told me.

They told me, "Don't eat too much in the day. Eat just enough so that you keep your strength. If you eat too much, you won't be able to run. But in the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

night eat well, for if the enemy does come you can hide yourself because of the dark and get away."

Facial hair is greatly disdained, and its growth is usually attributed to disobedience of some kind. There is a test of self-discipline related to this:

My father used to tell me, "When you are old enough to go in the creek and you are in training, every now and then walk straight into the water until it reaches the place under your nose where a moustache would begin. But if you drink the water or get it in your nose or mouth you will have a moustache." I tried this several times just for fun. The older people warned us not to let the water in; they didn't want us to have moustaches. They said that if we smoked while we were little we would get a moustache too.

The last sentence of this quotation calls attention to another matter concerning which the boy receives instruction at about this time. Smoking is the prerogative of the warriors and of the older women:

They tell a boy that he will have to catch a coyote first before he can smoke, but they mean it just as a joke. Some try it, of course; that's what they tell the boys to do it for, to see them try something that no boy can do. It's just like sending a boy for the thing they call "that with which one smokes."

Among older men the admonition is used in jest: "Not long ago when I lit a cigarette an old man said to me, 'When did you catch your coyote?' I told him, 'I've never done it, and I don't believe you ever did either.' He only laughed." To smoke during the boyhood or the training period is said to make a boy "lazy and no good at work."

Gradually the boys become inured to the demands made upon them and even devise tests of character for themselves. To demonstrate their bravery, they place dry sage or the pith of the sunflower stalk on their skins, ignite it, and let it burn to ash. Even though they are burned severely enough to show a scar years later, they must not flinch.

The training described thus far is entirely in the hands of the immediate family, but, when the youth reaches the age of puberty, this hardening process takes a more formalized turn. The father lets his son know that momentous days are ahead: "There are harder things to be learned later. When you are a little older,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 ried their guns and belt no matter how close they were to camp. Awake or asleep
526 they were never without their guns. After this ride C. wanted to show those
• 866 people just how he had trained his boy. They were on the sandy side of the hill. Nobody was on that hill.

C. told the boy, "Take your shirt off so that you'll have no excuse of something to trip over." All the men watched from the side. C. told the boy to stand on a gentle slope. He stood about fifty feet away from the boy.

C. took his gun and put cartridges in it. He is a sharpshooter; he shoots from the hip. He said, "All right, you start! You go down there."

The boy began to dodge and run. C. began to shoot. You could see the dust flying all around that boy, but he didn't get hit!

The boy is constantly reminded that this training must serve him for the raid and warfare situations which he will face.

The parents and grandparents all advise the boy. They tell him to run up hills so that in emergencies he can get along by himself, for in wartime, they tell him, nobody will go back for him, and he must keep up.

[867] They advise the boys that in case of war they should have a strong feeling that they will overcome the enemy; they tell the boy that the enemy is as frightened as he is; and that, if he puts on a brave front and charges, the enemy may run. And they tell the boys that, after coming home from a successful [626] battle, their relatives and friends will be proud of them. Cowards are talked [581] about, told nasty things before their faces, and are in disgrace. A girl would not marry a lazy or cowardly man because the women say he wouldn't be a good [577] provider. The boys know all this.

As time goes on group tactics assume increasing importance in the physical education of the novice. Where there are a number of boys of the proper age in the local group, they are brought together frequently for the training tasks.

Suppose I have a boy in the group. I give him equipment and tell him to go out there. The boys line up, ready to run. Maybe two men go along and see that the boys don't stop running. Then along comes a man with water in a little container and says, "Take a mouthful, but don't swallow it; hold it in your mouth. You are going to run four miles with this water in your mouth."

They all start out, not running full speed, but trotting. When they come back they are inspected. Each man inspects his boy to see if he still has the water in his mouth. He says, "All right, spit that water out." If the boy swallows the water on the way, the trainers see that he doesn't do it a second time.

868 Now one old man from the group of camps [extended family] might say, "I
865 have a fine boy. He is hard to beat." Then perhaps my father would say, "I
526 have a good boy. Bring your boy in." In they come. Everybody is around. The other boys who are novices are there too, waiting. They match these two, and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 526 492 Practice in handling and riding horses under all conditions is a regular part of the training. The boy is taught to ride bareback, to control the horse with only a rope around its nose, and to ride down a steep incline, picking up objects from the ground as he goes. He is also judged as he rides full speed toward a barrier and tries to halt his horse just before reaching it, or jumps the horse over hurdles.

868 526 One of the last activities of this phase of the training is a cross-country run. The route that is to be covered is laid out. There are no long halts, and the boys try to refrain from eating for the two days of this journey. Not until the afternoon of the second day may they kill animals for food. The boys do not sleep until the race is over. A variation is to make a group of boys walk all night to see if they can withstand fatigue.

[866]

868 554 866 The boys who achieve a position of superiority during this training period rise to pre-eminence in their age group. The tasks which lie ahead are close enough in spirit to those in which they have already excelled so that their futures are reasonably assured. The foundations of status recognitions are laid in the training period, therefore.

593 152 577 828 [868] Paternal affection is reinterpreted when the training period begins. No longer is it indulgence. "Because a Chiricahua parent loves his child," he insists upon duties which are often painful, for in his opinion this is the only way "his son will eventually make a living." There is no rancor involved; certainly no conscious cruelty or sadism.

152 156 577 828 This attitude penetrates deeply to the core of all response and behavior. Demonstrativeness is considered unbecoming; what cannot be translated into action need not be protested. Since stoicism and strength are underlined, displays of personal consideration and "softness" must be repressed. Only at times of crisis and of great grief, in appeals to the supernatural, or during mourning do the people permit the emotions full expression.

868 869 The girl's destiny as a dutiful wife is made very clear to her while she is still a child. The father may say, "We want to rear you well so people won't talk about us; we want to get something out of your marriage, so we want to take care of you."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Women school the girls in obedience "so that their husbands won't hear saucy words from them." 867

The girl's training is less formalized than that of the boy. It amounts to a greater and greater association with the duties of her mother, older sisters, and other female relatives, until she attains adult standards in the quality of work she can perform. 868

At this time, when the little girl is first learning to do women's work, her hair is done up in the style worn by young women: 868 302

> In the old days the young woman had her hair done up. She took it in one bunch and wrapped it up in back. Then she put a hair ornament on, and it covered the knot of hair and was tied in the middle. The hair ornament was made out of buckskin or cowhide. It had to be stiff. In my day they covered the hide with cloth. The color was usually red. . . . .
>
> The hair ornament was put on as soon as the girl was ten or twelve years old. It had nothing to do with the girl's feast [puberty rite]. There was no ceremony connected with it that I know of. The mother would make it. The only thing I know about it is that they said anyone who had the hair done up that way would have very long hair, for it would grow long while it was done up that way. They told this to the little girls, and it was generally true. [301] [852]

One of the earliest tasks given the little girl is the care of still younger members of the family. She is also instructed in the use of the tumpline and is expected to help bring in wood and water. 868 857

These simple household tasks are supposed to be shared by children of both sexes, but the boy is hardly old enough to be of appreciable assistance when he senses the sexual division of labor: "After my father was gone I worked a little around the house, getting wood, carrying water, and helping my mother. I was ashamed to do that though. It was woman's work. The other boys used to pass by and see me and make fun of me." It is not long before the boy has to be released entirely from such duties to follow his companions in their training and sports. But the girl is encouraged to continue and intensify her interest in household affairs.

However, like the boy, she must train herself to be strong and vigorous. She is told to rise early, to run often, and to shun no hard work. Tales are frequently told of girls so fleet that they rival boys in races. Such swiftness and strength are necessary, for girls must be able to get quickly to safety in case of attack on the camp. 866 868 526